1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	5
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally. There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.
!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).
sorésa, "the sun shines."
sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.
sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.
//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.
[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).
≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.
!khui-sa, to be evening.
dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]
178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

≠NHAON ≠AUIN NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

≠Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the